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ABSTRACT

The author presents a fully annotated bibliography of 80 items relating to the subject of ghostwriting of public addresses and other forms of persuasive communication. Most of the items deal with ghostwriting in the areas of political persuasion and public relations, although some general entries are included. Topics of the material range from methods and techniques of ghostwriting to harsh criticisms of ghostwriting as a tool of modern politics. Many of the references provide information about the staff writers and their approaches for both former and contemporary political leaders. Some references deal with the background of the technique, including its use for the preparation of university term papers. The entries, published between the late 1950's and the present, are divided into four sections: books, scholarly journals, popular journals, and newspaper articles. (RN)

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A SELECTED, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON SPEECH GHOSTWRITING: ITS PRINCIPLES, PRACTICES AND ETHICS

Annotated By Douglas P. Starr

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This paper is part of "Ghostwriting in Government: A Lexical Analysis of Matched Pairs of Speeches Ghostwritten for Florida Lieutenant Governor Tom Adams" unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, The Florida State University, December, 1972.

Douglas P. Starr, Ph. D. (Florida State University, 1972), director of Information and Research for the Florida Department of Commerce and a former speech ghostwriter for the Florida State Treasurer-Insurance Commissioner, teaches Speech Ghostwriting at Florida State University, one of the few such courses in academic existence.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON GHOSTWRITING

Books

Adams, Alexander B. Handbook of Practical Public Relations. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1965.

Adams includes in this good public relations handbook some suggestions for the effective use of a ghostwriter, particularly a close working relationship between the principal and his ghostwriter.

Auer, J. Jeffery. The Rhetoric of Our Times. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969.

— In an effort to provide insight into the background of modern rhetoric, Auer includes Robert N. Hall's "Lyndon Johnson's Speech Preparation" from the Quarterly Journal of Speech, LI (April, 1965), pp. 168-176; and William H. Honan's "The Men Behind Nixon's Speeches" from The New York Times Magazine, January 19, 1969, pp. 20-21, 63, 65-67, 73, 75.

Bormann, Ernest G. Theory and Research in the Communicative Arts. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966.

Warns rhetorical critics that ghostwriters obscure clues that a speaker's style gives to his character and intellectual ability.

Campbell, Karlyn Kohrs. Critiques of Contemporary Rhetoric. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1972.

Campbell quotes from Newsweek on Vice President Spiro Agnew's use of ghostwriters, but has little doubt that Agnew believes what his ghostwriters prepare for him, that he is in full accord with the prepared speeches.

Carter, John Franklin. Power and Persuasion. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1960.

Carter, a ghostwriter for President Franklin D. Roosevelt who describes that role in this intriguing book, attributes the modern importance and dependence upon ghostwriting to the microphone because of its ability to provide ready access to vast audiences. Carter describes what he calls three methods of approach to the business of speech ghostwriting: judicial, Roosevelt's approach; executive, President Harry S. Truman's approach; and legislative, Thomas E. Dewey's approach.

Devlin, L. Patrick. Contemporary Political Speaking. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1971.

Devlin interviewed one of Vice President Hubert Humphrey's ghostwriters, who wrote speeches exclusively although his official title implied a different type of work. Because of the heavy demands upon the time of the President and the Vice President, they must rely upon ghostwriters, resulting in their becoming so adept at delivering the words of their ghostwriters that "few listeners realize that these words are not the words of the speaker himself." The position of President, with its heavy concern for national security, demands manuscript speeches, implying a corresponding need for detailed research. Devlin addresses the ethics of ghostwriting but does not take a firm position.

Gibson, James W. A Reader in Speech Communication. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1971.

Without comment, Gibson includes Ernest G. Bormann's "Ethics of Ghostwritten Speeches" from the Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLVII (October, 1961), pp. 262-267.

Harlan, Gene, and Scott, Alan. Contemporary Public Relations: Principles and Cases. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956.

Harlan and Scott advise the public relations agency's ghostwriters to study their clients before attempting to draft their speeches.

Harlow, Rex F., and Black, Marvin M. Practical Public Relations, Its Foundations, Divisions, Tools and Practices. New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1947.

In a chapter discussing public speaking in general as a function of a public relations firm, Harlow and Black suggest, almost in passing, that a ghostwriter should know his principal before attempting to provide a speech for him.

_____. Practical Public Relations. Rev. ed. New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1952.

Harlow and Black advise the public relations agency's ghostwriters to study their clients before composing speeches for them.

Hendrix, James A., and Polisky, Jerome B. Rhetorical Criticism: Methods and Models. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Book Co., 1968.

With brief comment, Hendrix and Polisky include Robert N. Hall's "Lyndon Johnson's Speech Preparation" from the Quarterly Journal of Speech, LI (April, 1965), pp. 168-176.

Henry, John M., ed. The Articulates. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957.

Anonymous essay on how ghostwriters operate in political campaigns.

Hiebert, Ray Eldon, and Spitzer, Carlton E., eds. The Voice of Government. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1968.

The authors quote a federal government ghostwriter as saying far too much has been made of the role of the ghostwriter in government, to the point that the public believes, erroneously, that it is the ghostwriter and not the federal official who is making public policy.

Jeffrey, Robert C. and Peterson, Owen. Speech: A Text with Adapted Readings. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1971.

Although the text of this book does not address itself to ghostwriting, the authors use as their adapted readings several articles on ghostwriting, including one by Eric Sevareid chiding American University in Washington, D. C. for offering a course in ghostwriting in 1952-53.

Kennedy, George. The Art of Persuasion in Greece. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1963.

Explains in detail the rise and spread of logography (ghostwriting) in the ancient Greek world, probably the most complete information on the business of ghostwriting during its early years. Since the business of ghostwriting has changed but little over the centuries, Kennedy's book is an invaluable tool for both the historical critic and the modern practicing ghostwriter.

McCroskey, James C. An Introduction to Rhetorical Communication. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1968.

Defends the practice of ghostwriting as being amoral and, sometimes, essential, especially in the political arena in which candidates are required to make numerous speeches daily.

Nichols, Marie Hochmuth. Rhetoric and Criticism. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963.

Nichols warns the rhetorical critic to beware of the ghostwriter: "Unless the origin of thought is ascribed to its originator, accurate assessment of a speech from a rhetorical point of view is difficult, to say the least." Nichols says the critic learns to understand the speaker through his writing and speaking, and "accurate understanding and attribution are imperative and go hand in hand." Arguing that the student of public address can hardly find a redeeming feature in ghostwriting, Nichols says the group mind is taking over what was considered the most individual thing of all: a man's thought.

Nielander, William A., and Miller, Raymond W. Public Relations. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1951.

Nielander and Miller advise the public relations agency's ghostwriters to study their clients before attempting to write their speeches and to review the completed speeches with their clients several times to ensure that the idiosyncracies of the client are incorporated into the speech.

Oliver, Robert T. History of Public Speaking in America. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1965.

Oliver makes this evaluation of ghostwriting: "The new age of the ghost-writer was coming in [in President Woodrow Wilson's administration]. The speaker henceforth was to be less the originator and the architect of policies and more their expositor and defender. Skill in speech would be no less important in the new day; but it would be a skill of a somewhat different kind."

Pimlott, John A. R. Public Relations and American Democracy. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1951.

Saying that ghostwriting is inevitable in large organizations--particularly politics and government--Pimlott questions whether any distinction exists between the speech ghostwriter and other advisors who help prepare speeches. He says that ghostwriters may improve the content of speeches, but they flatten out individuality in the process.

Sevareid, Eric. In One Ear. New York: Knopf, 1952.

Objects strenuously to the proposal by American University in Washington, D. C., to offer a ghostwriting course in 1952-53. In his criticism, Sevareid wrote the now-famous denunciation of ghostwriting: ". . .a man's own words are a man's own self."

Thonssen, Lester; Baird, A. Craig; and Braden, Waldo W. Speech Criticism. 2nd ed. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1970.

The authors discuss logography and logographers of ancient Greece. They turn to modern ghostwriting and implications for the rhetorical critic, urging the critic to determine the actual relationship between the ghostwriter and his principal before addressing himself to the criticism of the speech.

Scholarly Journals

Alberts, Robert C. "So Your Boss Wants a Speech," Public Relations Journal, XXIII (July, 1967), 20-22.

After discussing the importance of speechmaking, Alberts suggests the rules of speechwriting should be mastered but may be broken for effect. Among the rules are those of clear writing through repetition and restatement of ideas, short sentences, and broad use of active voice and simple declarative sentences. The ghostwriter should not confuse himself with his principal in the sense that it is the principal who is making the decisions.

Avery, William T. "Roman Ghost-writers," Classical Journal, LIV (1958-1959). 167-169.

One of the few accounts of ghostwriting in ancient Rome, offering plausible evidence that Seneca was Nero's ghostwriter and that Trachalus was Otho's ghostwriter.

Bart, Peter. "The Busy Ghosts," Today's Speech, XII (February, 1964), 21, 33.

Bart suggests that, although ideally the ghostwriter should work closely with his principal, realistically the ghostwriter in the business world works almost entirely without direction from his principal. As a result, the ghostwriter tends to give his businessman principal a speech filled with stereotyped ideas, much the same as the commonplaces provided by the ancient Greek logographers for standard occasions.

Beall, Paul R. "Ghost Ghostwriting," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLVIII (February, 1962), 70-71.

With tongue in cheek, Beall sets up a hypothetical situation in which a student hires a ghostwriter to prepare a classwork speech and not only receives an A for the course but also a scholarship to another university. Then Beall questions whether the student cheated.

Benson, Thomas. "Conversation with a Ghost," Today's Speech, XVI (November, 1968), 71-81.

Almost verbatim an interview with Ghostwriter Josef Berger, a Guggenheim Fellow who wrote speeches for several elected and appointed federal officials in Washington, D. C. Berger describes his methods of ghostwriting, illustrating his points with anecdotes about some of the principals for whom he worked. Berger's rules for ghostwriting include making the principal compose as much of the speech as possible through the question-answer method of interviewing, detailed note-taking, and detailed audience analysis. Berger views ghostwriting as a craft and the ghostwriter as a craftsman and, therefore, the ghostwritten speeches as belonging to the principal rather than to the ghostwriter.

_____. "Inaugurating Peace: Franklin D. Roosevelt's Last Speech," Speech Monographs, XXXVI (June, 1969), 138-147.

Calling the preparation of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's last, and undelivered, speech a form of "ghostwriting by consignment," Benson explains and evaluates the contributions of various ghostwriters to the April 13, 1945 speech. He establishes that Josef Berger was the ghostwriter whose initial draft provided the basis for the speech, that Robert E. Sherwood and Jonathan Daniels wrote one draft each, and that Roosevelt himself made substantial changes but contributed only one sentence of his own.

Bormann, Ernest G. "Ghostwriting Agencies," Today's Speech, IV (September, 1956), 20-23, 30.

Describes the growth and operation of the ghostwriting agency found in nearly every major population center in the United States. These agencies provide ghostwriters for any type of writing, including speeches, songs, poems, term papers, theses, dissertations, and books. Bormann secured his information largely from the yellow pages of telephone books and from correspondence with ghostwriting agencies. Bormann questions the ethics of ghostwriting and the ghostwriter's own justification for his existence.

_____. "Ghostwriting and the Rhetorical Critic," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLVI (October, 1960), 284-288.

Bormann says the increase in the business of ghostwriting stemmed from (a) an increase in bureaucracy and its demand that the spokesman speak the party line, and (b) the development of the mass communication media and its ability to reach vast audiences. The ghostwriter is most destructive and subtle in the area of style, the most personal aspect of speechmaking. Rhetorical critics must know the author of the speech, he argues, because a speech, to be adequately evaluated, "must be viewed as an interaction of the speaker with his environment."

_____. "Ethics of Ghostwritten Speeches," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLVII (October, 1961), 262-267.

This is the article that fixed the position of those who oppose ghostwriting. Bormann says without qualification that deception is inherent in the practice of ghostwriting, that the primary purpose of a ghostwriter is to make the principal speak more effectively than he could otherwise. The presence of the ghostwriter alters the language of the speaker, changes his style and his characteristic mode of expression, thereby doing violence to the delivered speech and confusing the rhetorical critic. If the audience is to know a candidate through what he speaks and writes, then he must present himself as he really is, through his own speeches. ". . .if we believe in the importance of speech, we must impose ethical standards . . . upon everyone who presents himself and his ideas to an audience for acceptance," says Bormann.

_____. "Ghostwritten Speeches--A Reply," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLVII (December, 1961), 420-421.

Bormann responds to Donald K. Smith's challenge ("Ghostwritten Speeches," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLVII (December, 1961), 416-420), defining ghostwriting as "the practice of using collaborators to deceive the audience and make the speaker appear better than he is."

Brandenberg, Ernest. "The Preparation of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Speeches," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXXV (April, 1949), 214-221.

Brandenberg studied seventeen of Franklin D. Roosevelt's speeches and interviewed his personal stenographer concerning the details of his speech preparation. According to the research, Roosevelt relied upon several advisors for content and style, but served as the primary source of ideas and arguments and reserved to himself the final decision on phraseology.

Brigance, W. Norwood. "Ghostwriting Before Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Radio," Today's Speech, IV (September, 1956), 10-12.

Traces briefly the history of ghostwriting during the 2,300 years between Antiphon and President Franklin D. Roosevelt, listing in the main the presidential ghostwriters. Brigance laments that little is known of the operating practices of the ghostwriter.

Crowell, Laura. "The Building of the 'Four Freedoms' Speech," Speech Monographs, XXII (November, 1955), 266-283.

Crowell says President Franklin D. Roosevelt composed the first draft of the "Four Freedoms" speech of January 6, 1941 and it was revised six times by several ghostwriters. Nevertheless, the final product remained Roosevelt's own: his ideas and his style. Crowell delves deeply into the motivations for the changes in each draft in one of the most detailed analyses of the ghostwriting process.

Cox, John H., and Cox, LaWanda. "Andrew Johnson and His Ghostwriters: An Analysis of the Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights Veto Messages," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLVIII (December, 1961), 460-479.

The Coxes speculate as to the authorship of President Andrew Johnson's first two veto messages, on the Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights. Although they say it is impossible to ascertain Johnson's role in formulating the messages, the Coxes say their study provides new insights for understanding Johnson and his relationships with his advisors, namely Henry Stanbery (who later became Attorney General), Secretary of State William H. Seward, and Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles.

Donohue, James F. "How To Use the Fourth Person Singular," Public Relations Journal, XXVI (March, 1970), 24-25.

The "fourth person singular" is the "I" of another, or ghostwriting. Suggesting that the principal's acceptance of a ghostwritten speech is "in inverse proportion to the amount of ghost in it," Donohue recommends providing a complete-sentence outline of the proposed speech, followed by a detailed review of the outline with the principal before preparing the final text. Only in this manner, Donohue suggests, can the ideas and style of the principal be truly presented in a ghostwritten speech.

Ek, Richard A. "Working with a Ghost," Today's Speech, XV (April, 1967), 23-25.

Admitting the need for and the value of the ghostwriter, Ek lists ten suggestions for the most effective and efficient implementation of the ghostwriter's talents. In addition to such mundane matters as securing a competent ghostwriter and agreeing upon the fee, Ek recommends that the principal work personally with the ghostwriter throughout the speech preparation stage, provide access to confidential material as required, heed the ghostwriter's advice, and arrange for unbiased criticism of the delivered speech. Ek's suggestions are directed toward the principal and his relationship with the ghostwriter.

Farrar, Larston D. "How To Be a Ghost for Profit," Author and Journalist, XLII (October, 1957), 13-15.

Although Farrar describes the techniques of ghostwriting books, magazine articles, and other printed matter, his recommendations may well be applied to speech ghostwriting. Farrar suggests that the successful speech ghostwriter is one who knows how to handle words effectively in expressing ideas and presenting to the public the best image of his principal. Nevertheless, he warns the potential ghostwriter to protect his reputation by investigating thoroughly his principal and his organization to ensure that their actual aims are to help society.

Freshley, Dwight L. "Gubernatorial Ghost Writers," Southern Speech Journal, XXXI (Winter, 1965), 95-105.

In an effort to determine the attributes of the ghostwriters on the staffs of the nation's fifty governors, Freshley sent questionnaires to each governor in 1964, asking his assistance. Freshley received replies from thirty-one gubernatorial ghostwriters, from which he determined the characteristics of the ghostwriters, including their preparation for ghostwriting, their operating procedures, and the factors that influenced their theory of ghostwriting.

"Ghost Writing Bureau," Current History, LII (May, 1941), 49.

Discusses the operations of one of the first ghostwriting bureaus in Washington, D. C. Quotes its director as saying ghostwriting provides a service much the same as that of an assistant who composes business letters.

Golden, James L. "John F. Kennedy and the 'Ghosts,'" Quarterly Journal of Speech, LII (December, 1966), 348-357.

Through information from some of President John F. Kennedy's ghostwriter-advisors and through newspaper accounts, Golden says Kennedy was the principal architect of his speeches, usually suggesting the guidelines, providing the ideas, and editing the final draft. Occasionally, Kennedy prepared the entire speech without the aid of his ghostwriters.

Hall, Richard W. "The Doppelganger Effect," Public Relations Journal, XXV (February, 1969), 21-22.

Suggests that the effective ghostwriter will become a "doppelganger," a wraith-like double of the principal, and suggests how best to achieve this result: interview the principal to learn facts for the speech and to evaluate his personal style. Hall warns the ghostwriter, through anecdotes, of the pitfalls of writing a speech for himself rather than for the principal.

Hall, Robert N. "Lyndon Johnson's Speech Preparation," Quarterly Journal of Speech, LI (April, 1965), 167-176.

Hall says political speeches are not written, they are rewritten, by the principal's ghostwriters. President Lyndon B. Johnson, who relied heavily upon manuscript speaking, said he had no particular rules for speech writing. Although Johnson relied upon various individual members of his staff of eighty aides according to the topic of the speech and the occasion, he put his trust in George Reedy, his press secretary, for the final decision on content before the draft was given to the President. Regardless of who prepared the speech, the delivered speech was pure Johnson, replete with his own style and ideas.

Heinen, R. W. "Ghostwriting in Departments of the Federal Government," Central States Speech Journal, VII (Spring, 1956), 10-12.

Heinen, an administrator for a federal agency, describes his role as a part-time ghostwriter, one forced by the job he holds to write speeches for his boss. Heinen urges speech instructors to accept the existence of ghostwriting and to teach its techniques.

Huebner, Lee W. "The Debater, the Speechwriter and the Challenge of Public Persuasion," Journal of the American Forensic Association, VII (Winter, 1970), 1-12.

A ghostwriter on President Richard M. Nixon's staff, Huebner includes in a forensic association speech some information on what Nixon requires of a ghostwriter.

Massoth, Clifford G. "That Speech-Writing Chore," Public Relations Journal, XVI (April, 1960), 19-21.

Although much of Massoth's article suggests some of the mechanics of speech preparation, research, and delivery, he does defend the business of ghostwriting as being ethical. Moreover, he attributes to the ghostwriter alone the foresightedness of analyzing the audience in advance of preparing the speech. The effective ghostwriter will write from the viewpoint of his principal, and will provide him with memorable phrases that could be picked up by the news media.

May, Ernest R. "Ghost Writing and History," American Scholar, XXII (1952-1953), 459-465.

Deplores the reliance by history's leaders upon ghostwriters because they build an impenetrable thicket around the historical truth, fogging the testimony of firsthand observers. Fortunately, though, he argues, ghostwritten documents usually are factual because the ghostwriters tend to verify the facts. It is not the ghostwriters but their principals who are at once "the culprits and the victims in this conspiracy against history."

"The Month at Random," Wilson Bulletin for Librarians, V (May, 1931), 594-596.

Discusses ghostwriting in general, and in the field of literature and newspaper and magazine writing in particular.

Oliver, Robert T. "Syngman Rhee: A Case Study in Transitional Oratory," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLVIII (April, 1962), 115-127.

After describing the life and achievements of Korea President Syngman Rhee, Oliver, who served as Rhee's ghostwriter, describes in some detail his association with Rhee. Oliver defends the practice of ghostwriting as ethical, saying it was his job to help Rhee to be as effective as he wanted to be through presenting his own ideas in his own style. As a result of their long, intimate relationship, Oliver says his speech drafts actually were Rhee's ideas couched in Rhee's phraseology.

Ray, Robert F. "Ghostwriting in Presidential Campaigns," Central States Speech Journal, VIII (Fall, 1956) 8-11. (Also Today's Speech, IV (September, 1956), 13-15.)

Arguing in favor of ghostwriting, Ray asks challengingly why a man should be praised for being well-advised but censured for relying upon a ghostwriter. It is preposterous to believe the ghostwriter manipulates his principal. Ray describes the speech preparation of candidates Franklin D. Roosevelt and Thomas E. Dewey during the 1944 presidential campaign.

Scott, Lionel. "No Ghost Wrote 'The Four Freedoms'--They Evolved," Western Speech, XV (March, 1951), 56-57.

Quoting Ghostwriter Robert E. Sherwood as saying that no ghostwriter wrote President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" speech of January 6, 1941, Scott traces the development of the four freedoms from various Roosevelt speeches and news conferences in 1939 and 1940.

Smith, Donald K. "Ghostwritten Speeches," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLVII (December, 1961), 416-420.

Challenges Ernest G. Bormann's charge ("Ethics of Ghostwritten Speeches," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLVII (October, 1961), 262-267) that ghostwriting is unethical. Smith questions the propriety of Bormann's denunciation of all ghostwriting, and of including in his blanket denunciation both the cheating student and the President, both of whom rely upon ghostwriters. Smith suggests examining the context in which ghostwriting occurs before making a judgment.

_____. "The Speech-writing Team in a State Political Campaign," Today's Speech, IV (September, 1956), 16-19.

Analyzes the successful 1954 campaign of Orville L. Freeman for governor of Minnesota, concluding that the public speaking activities are a minor portion of the overall campaign effort. He suggests that all of the ghostwriting activities are based upon the campaign policies and must adhere rigidly, reinforcing other facets of the campaign. Much of Smith's article describes the inner workings of a political campaign. Smith argues that the question of ethics need not be raised concerning ghostwriting because the principal assumes the responsibility for his utterances, regardless of who wrote them, and because public officials should not take the time away from their official duties to compose their own speeches.

Spitzer, Carlton E. "Case for the Honest Ghost," Public Relations Journal, XIX (November, 1963), 11-12, 14.

In an effort to defend ghostwriting, Spitzer says it cannot be intrinsically evil. As a group, he says, ghostwriters represent a powerful influence for truth and objectivity. The ghostwriter's product, generally, reflects his principal. Nevertheless, the principal should challenge and change his ghostwritten speech because it represents only a recommendation. Generally, those who rely upon ghostwriters do so only to conserve time.

Starr, Douglas P. "The Ghost at Work," Public Relations Journal, XXVII (March, 1971), 10-11.

Describes in detail the techniques employed by the nine ghostwriters who wrote speeches for Florida's seven elected officials, details secured through interviews with the ghostwriters and their principals. Operating completely openly, the ghostwriters also serve the function of press liaison, a function they serve well, having been, by and large, members of the press themselves before becoming ghostwriters.

_____. "Ghosts in the Florida Statehouse." Quarterly Journal of Speech, LVII (February, 1971), 97-101.

This article is Starr's abstract of his master of arts thesis. The article centers on a description of how the state governmental ghostwriters ply their craft. He recommends that universities initiate speech ghostwriting courses to provide the ghostwriter with greater understanding of his business and give him greater skill and a sense of ethics.

_____. "Ghosts in the Statehouse: A Study of the Speechwriting Operations of Ghostwriters in Florida's State Capitol." Unpublished M. A. thesis, The Florida State University, 1970.

Starr interviewed each of the nine speech ghostwriters for Florida's seven statewide elected officials, including the governor, in an effort to determine their methods of operation, their views on the business of ghostwriting, and their backgrounds and preparation for their tasks. Each ghostwriter defended his job as ethical, labeling it largely mechanical and a necessary part of government. Starr urges the establishment of ghostwriting courses at the university level to provide academic leadership and ethical input.

Stelkovis, Walter J. "Ghostwriting: Ancient and Honorable," Today's Speech, II (January, 1954), 17-19.

The speech profession largely ignores ghostwriting, although the business dates back to ancient Greece. Stelkovis offers two principles upon which to judge the acceptability of ghostwriting: Aristotle's principle that the speaker must have some knowledge of the topic, which the ghostwriter provides; and ghostwriter J. Douglas Knox's principle that the ghostwriter must know his principal's background and style to produce a proper speech.

White, Eugene E., and Henderlider, Clair R. "What Harry S. Truman Told Us About His Speaking," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XL (February, 1954), 37-42.

To determine President Harry S. Truman's views on public speaking and speechwriting, White and Henderlider interviewed him in detail for forty minutes. Reconstructing his statements from their notes, White and Henderlider present Truman's ideas in the first person, generally in his own words, his relationship with his ghostwriters and his evaluation of the ghostwriting process. Truman says he would list the major points he wanted in a speech and the ghostwriters would gather the necessary data and prepare the first of several drafts. Truman says he reviewed every draft and suggested numerous changes, which, of course, were incorporated.

Windes, Russel, Jr. "Adlai E. Stevenson's Speech Staff in the 1956 Campaign," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLVI (February, 1960), 32-43.

Windes interviewed thirty-one members of Adlai E. Stevenson's ghostwriter-advisor staff to determine the techniques of his operation on the presidential campaign trail. One key technique was the broad use of an "issue book," a book comprising separate papers on each policy point in the campaign that served as a ready reference for ghostwriters. Stevenson, who disapproved of using ghostwriters himself, was forced to rely upon them because of the tremendous demand upon him for public addresses during the campaign.

Popular Journals

Butterfield, Roger. "Ghostwriters," Life, July 5, 1968, pp. 62-64.

Goes behind the famous statements of history's leaders and cites the sources of such phrases as Abraham Lincoln's ". . .government of the people, by the people, and for the people." He attributes the modern boom in ghostwriting to the electronic public address system, radio, and television, all of which are major means of reaching vast audiences.

"The Capital: The Trouble with Ghosts," Time, December 5, 1949, p. 25.

Cites Kingland, Commissioner of Patents v. Dorsey, 338 U. S. 318 (1949) in which United States Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson says that ghostwriting of books had debased the intellectual currency of the nation, as a point of departure to discuss ghostwriting in general in federal offices.

Dart, Rufus, II. "The Ventriloquists of Washington," Scribner's Magazine, XCII (November, 1932), 268-274.

Dart holds ghostwriting in low esteem, saying that ghostwriters serve as ventriloquists for the dummies their principals become and for whom the ghostwriters do all the thinking. What makes Dart's article particularly interesting is the fact that it was written before Franklin D. Roosevelt became President and established ghostwriting on a grand scale. Nevertheless, Dart denounces ghostwriting, saying it engenders invisible government that could result in the fall of democracy in the United States. In support of his thesis, Dart cites anecdotes in the political lives of senators and Presidents.

Farrar, Larston D. "Live Ghosts in Washington," American Mercury, November, 1956, pp. 108-119.

Describes, almost ungraciously, the activities and antics of not only some of the major ghostwriters for the better-known principals in the federal government, but also of the principals themselves. Some of his descriptions imply that the business of ghostwriting is a necessary evil, almost the butt of a joke on elected officials who rely upon the practice. Nevertheless, he does provide some insight into the business, largely from the vantage point of an insider, insight not ordinarily available elsewhere.

Fuess, Claude M. "Ghosts in the White House," American Heritage, X (December, 1958), 45-47, 97-99.

Says that although ghostwriting should be continued as a necessary adjunct to government, ghostwriters tend to dilute powerful speeches. Yet, he cites numerous contributions by ghostwriters of such memorable phrases as "rendezvous with destiny" and the humorous, rhythmic sequence of "Martin, Barton, and Fish." And he laments the absence of a ghostwriter from the staff of President Grover Cleveland, who, he says, "could at least have supplied . . .a little warmth, color, and human appeal." The basis of Fuess' article is a description of the ghostwriting operations of many of the Presidents' staffs.

"Ghost Writers Give Boss the Word," Business Week, January 21, 1967, pp. 72-74.

Describes the role of the ghostwriter in corporations, saying the continuing demand for speeches by corporation executives, coupled with the other pressures of the business world, makes the ghostwriter indispensable in business.

"Guiding the Ghost," Newsweek, February 4, 1952, p. 71.

Discusses the controversy surrounding the announcement by American University in Washington, D. C., that it planned to offer a course in ghostwriting (in 1952-53), taught by a professor who doubled as a federal agency ghostwriter.

Heckler, Louis R. "Getting Your Point Across," The Military Journalist, VII (Spring, 1972), 20-21.

Describes the results of a 1971 survey of graduates of the United States Army Defense Information School at Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana, 37 per cent of whom reported some ghostwriting activities following graduation. As a result, the school incorporated into its speechwriting course some information on ghostwriting.

Johnson, Seneca. "In Defense of Ghost Writing," Harper's Magazine, CLXXIX (October, 1939), 536-543.

Johnson, a pen name for J. K. Atkins, defends ghostwriting, saying it is socially useful and has earned the status of respectability. Moreover, ghostwriting is a manifestation of the principles of division of labor and mass production. All writing is not the same, he says, giving as an example Shakespeare's "Hamlet" and the housewife's grocery list. Unethical ghostwriting is that which "misrepresents the role of the principal" and ethical ghostwriting is that which does not misrepresent either the role or the function of the principal. Ethical ghostwriting has been regarded as commonplace for centuries.

"Notes and Comment," The New Yorker, February 23, 1952, p. 23.

Chides American University in Washington, D. C., for offering (in 1952-53) a course in ghostwriting, and denounces ghostwritten speeches categorically as being less than great.

Roberts, Charles. "A Presidential Ghost Story," Newsweek, January 11, 1971, pp. 21-22.

Uses President Richard M. Nixon's pending 1971 State of the Union Message as a point of departure to discuss the ghostwriting activities of other Presidents. The article includes interviews with several presidential ghostwriters discussing the ethics of ghostwriting.

Rovere, Richard H. "The Minds of Barry Goldwater," Harper's Magazine, CCXXIX (September, 1964), pp. 37-42.

Denounces Senator Barry Goldwater as being incapable of being President, largely because of his heavy reliance upon ghostwriters. He quotes Goldwater as saying he had sixteen ghostwriters on his staff who wrote speeches, books, and newspaper columns under his name. Rovere asks the intriguing question of whether the author of record of ghostwritten matter is bound to adhere to the positions delineated by his ghostwriters. Unfortunately, Rovere does not provide a definite answer.

Stern, Edith M. "The Cash-and-no-Credit Business," Saturday Review of Literature, XXIII (October 26, 1940), pp. 11-12.

Discusses the rise of the business of ghostwriting since 1940, describing its spread into nearly every facet of society. Stern views ghostwriting as a labor-saving device, a device to help the public understand its leaders and to help the leaders reach their audiences. "Men already distinguished in their particular fields are not looking for literary laurels, but for a medium of expression," she says in defense of ghostwriting.

"Stevenson's Ghost Writers: 'Big Names' Lend Hand . . . New Dealers Chip In, Too . . .But Adlai Distills His Own Quips," U. S. News and World Report, September 26, 1952, pp. 57-59.

Provides thumbnail sketches of Adlai E. Stevenson's ghostwriters and advisors during his 1952 Presidential campaign, and the roles they played. In general, the speeches as delivered were Stevenson's own product; and he often wrote his own speeches based upon the ghostwritten drafts.

"Term-Paper Hustlers," Time, April 19, 1971, p. 67.

Discusses several ghostwriting agencies specializing in university term papers, saying that the universities are powerless to act against this threat to academic morality. Moreover, it is the student, not the ghostwriter, who is guilty, say the universities.

"When Johnson Plans a Speech," U. S. News and World Report, February 3, 1964, p. 33.

Discusses the difference in ghostwriting needs between President Lyndon B. Johnson and President John F. Kennedy, and describes some of the ground rules for ghostwriting Johnson established. The article says that the ghostwriter collects the data and prepares the drafts of the speeches, but it is the President himself who decides what he will say and how he will say it.

Newspapers

Bendiner, Robert. "Ghosts Behind the Speechmakers," The New York Times Magazine, August 17, 1952, pp. 15, 36.

Seeks to justify the business of ghost-writing as a craft needed in the offices of many top-level public officials whose expertise does not include speechwriting. One justification is that public officials must make many public addresses and simply do not have the time to prepare them. Bendiner lists briefly the essential attributes and techniques of ghostwriting.

Dallos, Robert E. "A Term Paper Tycoon Sells Ghosts of Chance," St. Petersburg Times, January 23, 1972, p. 21-A.

Describes the operations of Term Papers, Unlimited, an agency dealing in ghostwritten term papers for university students. Quotes the founder as saying he became a millionaire within six months, selling ghostwritten term papers from $2 to $4 per page. Some universities expel students who rely upon ghostwriters for term papers.

Evans, Rowland, and Novak, Robert. "Priest Vetoed As Nixon's Speechwriter?" St. Petersburg Times, June 14, 1971, p. 15-A.

Evans and Novak speculate on reports that the Rev. Father John McLaughlin, a Jesuit, would not be accepted as a member of President Richard M. Nixon's ghostwriting staff.

"Ghost Term Papers Spread West," Tallahassee Democrat, February 24, 1972, p. 22.

Describes the preparation and sale of university term papers by ghostwriting agencies, and the concern of educators who want laws banning such practices. Explains the spread of Term Papers, Unlimited, from the east coast to the west coast.

Gilroy, Harry. "Survey of the Ghost Writers," The New York Times Magazine, March 27, 1949, pp. 20, 60-61, 63.

A former governmental ghostwriter, Gilroy scathingly denounces the business of ghostwriting, saying that public officials who must rely upon ghostwriters do not belong in public life. Moreover, ghostwriting, although not basically evil, is a form of deception and engenders cynicism and dissolves trust among people. He calls upon the public to vote against candidates for public office who rely upon ghostwriters.

Honan, William H. "The Men Behind Nixon's Speeches," The New York Times Magazine, January 19, 1969, pp. 20-21, 63, 65-67, 73, 75.

A lightly written article published shortly before President Richard M. Nixon delivered his inaugural address in 1969. Provides brief descriptions of the four ghostwriters Nixon selected: Raymond K. Price, Jr., Patrick J. Buchanan, William F. Gavin, and William Safire, all accomplished writers and politically knowledgeable. Honan describes the writing styles of each of the four men, with the implied invitation to try your hand at discovering which one wrote what portions of Nixon's speeches.

"Move Underway to Curb Term Paper Ghost Writing," Tallahassee Democrat, March 1, 1972, p. 18.

Detailed explanation of the operations of Term Papers, Unlimited, from its inception in 1970. Discusses state governmental efforts to enact laws banning the sale of ghostwritten term papers to students in universities and colleges.

Phillips, Kevin P. "Playboy Padre, Nixon Speechwriter a Priest," Tallahassee Democrat, August 2, 1971, p. 4.

Discusses the personality and background of the Rev. Father John McLaughlin, a Jesuit who joined President Richard M. Nixon's staff as a ghostwriter.

Roche, John P. "The Speechmakers Vs. The Speechwriter," St. Petersburg Times, December 3, 1970.

Discusses the relationship between political leaders and their ghostwriters, using as a point of departure the question whether a ghostwriter drafted a 1970 election-eve speech for Presidential candidate Senator Edmund Muskie. His analysis brings in some of the activities of other ghostwriters and their principals.

Shearer, Lloyd. "How Two Brothers Struck It Rich," Parade Magazine, August 29, 1971, pp. 6-7.

Detailed discussion of the inner workings of Term Papers, Unlimited, a ghostwriting agency in Boston, Massachusetts, specializing in university term papers. Ward Warren, one of the founders, is quoted as saying the term papers are sold with the admonition that they are not to be passed off as the product of the purchaser.

Taylor, Henry J. "Men Behind Kennedy, Who Are Ghost Writers?" Tallahassee Democrat, April 30, 1971, p. 4.

Taylor obviously despises the business of ghostwriting, describing it as an evil that must be abolished. The business of ghostwriting is a business of deception, misrepresentation, hypocrisy, insincerity, and intellectual dishonesty. Taylor coins the terms "ghost-speaker" and "ghost-reader" for those who deliver ghostwritten speeches without crediting the author. The Kennedy he mentions is Senator Edward M. Kennedy.

"Their Business--Term Papers, To Order," St. Petersburg Times, January 12, 1970.

Describes the operations of Weinstein Research Agency of Bridgeport, Connecticut, a ghostwriting agency dealing in university term papers.

Van Gieson, John. "Writer Polishes Image of Askew," Tallahassee Democrat, July 25, 1971, p. 10-A. (Also "Writer Puts Words in Governor's Mouth," St. Petersburg Times, August 22, 1971, p. 9-B.)

This Associated Press dispatch (published in two different newspapers a month apart) carries the results of an interview with Roland Page, one of Florida Governor Reubin O'D. Askew's ghostwriters. Page describes briefly his own background and some of the details of his ghostwriting duties.